Workers of the World, Unite !

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THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER AND THE LEGLESS VETERAN

By Theodore Kovalesky

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PACT'S AIMS ARE WAR, DICTATORSHIPS

What's to Be Done About Civil Rights?

By Albert Parker

What is to be done about the civil rights fight now that the Southern Democrats have succeeded in strengthening their filibuster powers?

The N. Y. Times, a conservative capitalist paper that parades as "liberal" on the civil rights issue, does not have an answer to this question, but it has plenty to say about what should **NOT** be done. In an editorial on March 16 it warns the Negro people not to get the idea that it will "take a revolution to correct abuses" and to beware "against pulling down the whole structure in order to get at the faulty parts." The **Times** wants the Negro people not to go "out of bounds" in the civil rights fight, to be patient — even if it takes another 300 years before they win equality.

Another self-styled "friend of the Negro people," the **New Leader,** a paper which speaks for Social Democrats, New Dealers and a part of the labor bureaucracy, on March 19 editorially congratulated the Negro leaders on the "fine statesmanship" they displayed in not demanding a "fight to the finish on the floor of the Senate." Why? Because then the rent-control law would have lapsed and everyone, including Negroes, would have suffered as a consequence. "It is too great a sacrifice to pay for such a victory. It will be better to get our social legislation now and deal with bi-partisan reactionaries two years hence." **These are the words that Uncle Tom would have spoken if he had lived long enough, and unlike the** New Leader, **Uncle Tom never pretended to be a "democratic socialist."**

The NAACP, through its secretary, Walter White, promises the fight for civil rights will go on. "We shall go to the people — the people who expressed their approval of civil rights legislation at the polls last November — and let them know how the majority of the senators, both Democratic and Republican, have defied their mandate. We shall urge them again to remember at the polls how their senators voted on this crucial issue." That's fine, but how much good will that do? The NAACP leaders are against the formation of a Labor Party. **How will it help to replace Democrats with Republicans, or Republicans with Democrats, when both parties knife civil rights? Doesn't the Democratic 81st Congress, which replaced the Republican 80th Congress, once again prove the futility of such a course?**

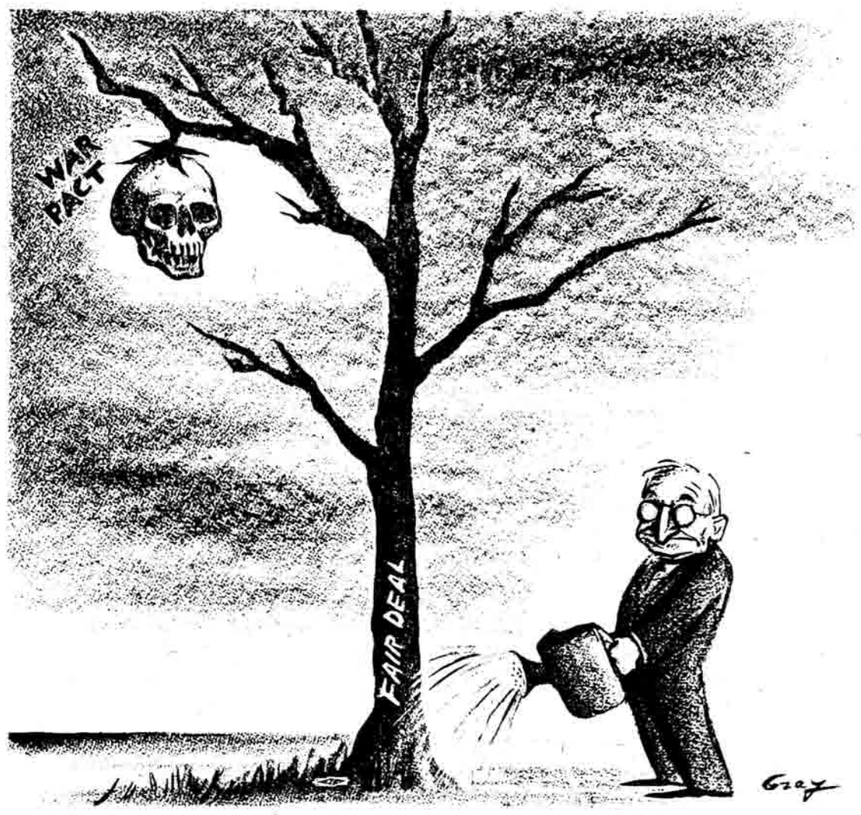
The common note in all this advice is a plea to sit tight for at least another two years. If such advice is followed, the Negro and white workers who want and need civil rights laws will end up in the same blind alley that it led them to this year. That's why we say: Don't wait, the time to begin fighting is now, and the way to fight is by militant mass action!

The trouble with the fight up to now is that there has been too much "fine statesmanship" about it, that is, too much hat-in-hand lobbying and reliance on capitalist politicians like Truman. This method couldn't work and it didn't work. Now is the time for the rank-and-file to be heard, now is the time for applying pressure through mass demonstrations and struggle, now is the time to show that our patience is thoroughly exhausted.

Now — not two years from now — the fight can begin in real earnest by the convocation of a United Labor and Negro Congress for Civil Rights, to be held in Washington next door to the Congress, attended not only by the official labor and Negro leaders but also by the representatives of all the labor and Negro organizations pouring into the capital from all parts of the country to express their wrath and their determination to fight without quarter until they obtain the passage of the civil rights bills promised by both capitalist parties.

This is the exact opposite of what the "fine statesmen" advocate, but it is the only thing that capitalist politicians will have respect for and listen to. The Times **would call such a move "revolutionary" but it is only by such mass action that the civil rights fight can be won.**

First Fruit



SWP Tells Stand Against T-H Act To House Body

MAR. 21 — Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and restoration of the original Wagner Act were demanded by Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, in a statement filed today with the House subcommittee considering the administration's Thomas - Lesinski bill. The statement was submitted at the request of John Lesinski, chairman of the House Labor Committee, and reads as follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee:

Speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, I support conditionally the Thomas-Lesinski Labor Bill to the extent that it repeals the Taft-Hartley Act and restores unimpaired the original Wagner Act. I urge strengthening of the Thomas-Lesinski Bill to provide full and adequate safeguards of the right to strike, which has been gravely undermined during and since the war.

Compulsory cooling-off periods; court injunctions; staggering fines against striking unions; seizure of industries solely to break strikes; bans on strikes of

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CP CITES ROLE IN WAR AS DEFENSE AT TRIAL

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, March 23 — At the start of the present thought-control trial, I posed the question, "Since the Smith Act became law in 1940, and the Trotskyists were convicted under it in 1941, why did the government wait until 1948 to indict the Stalinists?"

The government, I then explained, got around that question by dating the charges from 1945, coincident with the expulsion of Browder and the reorganization of the Communist Party. Before that date no chore in the war-time service of the capitalist government was too dirty for the Stalinists. So the government naturally had no desire to use the Smith Act against them.

In the opening statements to the jury this week, the government and the Stalinists gave their own explanations for the rupture in 1945 of their previous intimate collaboration. The government denounced the Stalinists for breaking with the Browder line. While the Stalinists complained that the government has departed from the Roosevelt line.

PROSECUTION'S LINE

The prosecutor, John F. X. McGohey, described Stalinist policy following the Teheran meeting of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill. He quoted Browder's pledge to subordinate the class struggle to the Teheran program of collaboration between all social classes. He characterized as a "deliberate choice in fundamental aims" the dissolution in 1944 of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association.

McGohey related how the Stalinists now on trial had called Browder's program "inspiring" and had voted unanimously for a campaign to convince the capitalists they were "serious about national unity."

Then in April 1945, the prosecutor told the jury, came the Duclos letter condemning Browder for revisionism. The present defendants, he went on, acting in obedience to Duclos, expelled Browder, repudiated his program, and reconstituted the Communist

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Let the People Vote on Question Of War or Peace!

An Editorial

When the Senate rubber-stamps the North Atlantic Pact, this country will be virtually committed to go to war at the nod of one man, the President.

Yet what voice did the people have in this most fateful commitment in American history? None.

The pact was drafted in secret behind closed doors. It is being rushed through at break-neck speed so that there will be little if any opportunity for popular discussion.

Those who will do the sacrificing, fighting and dying in the war being prepared by this pact, are the only ones by right who should have the power to decide the life-and-death question of war or peace.

This question is being decided for all of us, however, by a tiny clique of Wall Street agents and professional militarists who dominate the Truman administration. It will be formally approved by a Senate oligarchy of reactionary Democrats and Republicans. Do they represent the people? They are bought and paid for agents of the munitions and arms corporations, the international banking and investment firms — the whole plutocracy of monopoly capital that seeks to save its rule and its profits by another world war for markets, cheap labor power and raw materials, new fields for capital investment.

Would the American people, of their own free will and consent, go to war for the profit and privilege of these parasites and exploiters? Never. That's why the people have not been consulted. That's why the war-making power has been usurped by a little clique removed from the direct influence of the people.

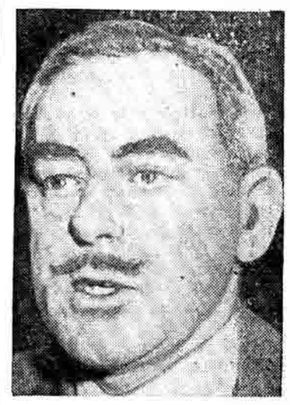
If the people do not assert their will, if they permit the most crucial of all questions—war or peace—to be decided by the profit-seekers, the militarists and their political stooges, the world will go down in blood and ruin.

We can stop it, if the people themselves decide the question of war or peace. Let the people vote on whether they are to be plunged into a world blood-bath once more.

Pledges Military Aid of U.S. To Crush Popular Uprisings

By George Breitman

Preparations for World War III and counter-revolution in Europe are the main aims of the North Atlantic Pact, scheduled to be signed in Washington by representatives of eight countries during the first week of April.



DEAN ACHESON

This pact marks the formal establishment of a military "holy alliance" dominated by American imperialism and designed to promote the transformation of the present cold war into hot wars against (1) the Soviet Union and her satellites, (2) rebellious workers and peasants seeking to establish socialism in the countries bound by the pact.

This program, giving Washington a ring of advanced military bases around the Soviet Union, is presented to the world in the name of "international peace and security and justice" as a defense against "aggression." But how would it look if the Soviet Union had pressured Canada, Mexico and the rest of Latin America into signing a pact which established Russian bases in those countries, supplied them with arms and committed them to come to the aid of the Soviet Union in any war in which it became involved?

PACT'S MAIN CLAUSES

Would such an act be any more aggressive than the one the U. S. government is now committing through the formation of the Atlantic Pact and the diplomatic strong-arm methods it used to drive several small European nations into line for the pact?

Article 3 of the pact calls for a vast expansion in arms and military forces. Article 4 calls for consultation whenever "the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened." Article 5 provides that in case of an "armed attack" on any of the pact members, each of them will take "such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area." Article 9 establishes a council and a "defense committee" to implement the pact. Article 10 permits the inclusion of other European states by unanimous agreement. Article 11 provides for the ratification of the pact by individual members after it has been signed. Article 13 binds them to the pact for at least 20 years.

AGAINST REVOLUTION

At a press conference on Mar. 18, the day the details of the pact were finally released, Secretary of State Acheson undertook to explain the meaning of Article 4 when a reporter asked if it meant the council could take action in case of an internal revolution in any of the countries.

Yes, there would be consulta-

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Labor and Liberal Leaders In Detroit Urge Kutcher Aid

DETROIT, March 21 — George Novack, National Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, last night made a stirring appeal on "The Case of the Legless Veteran" to more than a hundred unionists and civil liberties defenders at a meeting here sponsored by the Greater Detroit and Wayne County Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

Joining in this appeal for the defense of James Kutcher, who had lost both legs in action in Italy and was fired last summer from his Veterans Administration job for membership in the Socialist Workers Party, were a number of prominent speakers from labor, liberal and church groups.

They included Tom Clampitt, personal representative of Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO United Auto Workers; Rev. Charles A. Hill; George Schermer, Chairman of the Michigan Committee on Civil Rights; Dr. Harold L. Sheppard, sociology professor at Wayne University. Frank Marquart, Educational Director of UAW Briggs Local 212, was chairman of the meeting.

Novack gave a powerful statement of the facts and issues in the Kutcher case. "The cold war against government workers represented by the loyalty purges," he said, "is a threat to all workers. These are police state methods."

Clampitt said, "We must fight those responsible for the many victims of the loyalty purges through political action." Rev. Hill called for solidarity against undemocratic loyalty purges and Marquart told his fellow-unionists that "if Kutcher can lose his job, who is going to be next?" Schermer expressed his support of Kutcher's defense, saying, "We must defend a man's right to belong to an organization without penalty."

Arthur H. Fox, local secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, appealed for financial aid for the defense of Kutcher.

Novack spoke on the Kutcher case March 19 over UAW Radio Station WDET, FM.

Next Week:

Farrell Dobbs, Art Preis and William F. Warde cover key sectors of the civil rights battlefront (in next week's issue.)

American democracy comes with unclean hands—conscientious objectors still being sentenced to prison four years after the war.

Civil libertarians divided over "full disclosure" — what happened at the American Civil Liberties Union conference.

An AFL editor explains why intimidation failed to stop him from attending a Kutcher defense rally.

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FASCISTS, COLONIAL DESPOTS IN NEW IMPERIALIST LINE-UP

By Art Preis

Among the fascist dictatorships and colonial despotisms that American imperialism is lining up or has already lined up in its military alliance for the "defense of democracy" in a third world war, are Spain, Portugal and Holland.

Fascist Spain, where daily executions of opponents of Franco's regime continue ten years after the Civil War, has not yet been formally invited to join the "democracies" in preparing war against the Soviet Union. But it won't be long.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson, in his press conference on the Atlantic Pact, gave a strong intimation that the United States will seek to include Spain in the alliance. **In reply to a question on Spain, he emphasized that the present parties to the pact "may invite any country with certain qualifications," and that the section of the pact describing the "democratic" qualifications for membership "wasn't a bar."**

POLICY SHIFT

More explicitly, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk on March 12 indicated to a meeting of the American Association for the United Nations that the State Department is moving for a major shift in policy toward Spain. "He strongly implied that the United States will give vigorous support to a move at the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly to repeal the anti-Franco resolution of 1946." (**Christian Science Monitor,** March 15.) Rusk "made it clear that many of his official associates frowned on any continuation of the world organization's anti-Franco policy as an unrealistic program . . . that officials in Washington believed that Madrid's Nationalist regime no longer constituted a threat to the peace of the world." (**N. Y. Times,** March 13.)

It is obvious that as soon as the U. S. State Department can effect a UN whitewash of Franco, he will be the honored recipient of an invitation to accept money and arms from the United States to bolster his shaky regime and provide another military base for the planned assault on the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, Wall Street has already anticipated Washington's approval and support of Franco through the private loan of $25

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Marshall Plan Linked Directly to War Pact

By George Clarke

"Washington's war preparations and plans cover the entire globe. The ECA is simply a part of U. S. imperialist economic, diplomatic and military intervention abroad. . . American workers must oppose the Marshall Plan no less vigorously than the Taft-Hartley Law. Support of the Marshall Plan would only strengthen the monopolists in their onslaught on American labor and their march to war."

The statement above is taken from the resolution of the 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held in July 1948. It was written at a time when the ears of American workers were ringing with the alibis and arguments of labor leaders, Social Democrats and liberals in defense of the Marshall Plan. To believe them, it was nothing but an elaborate relief program designed to feed the starving peoples of Europe. By showering the good things of America on the needy masses, the Marshall Planners argued, the advance of communism would be halted, the danger of war would be lessened, if not eliminated completely, and the need for large-scale rearmament would be removed.

If you were in the labor movement, you accepted this version of the Marshall Plan — or else. The CIO became the scene of a fierce internal struggle which ended with purges and splits aimed at ridding the unions of those who would not bind themselves to the elaborate war preparations embodied in the Marshall Plan. You accepted the lies of Murray, Reuther and Co. or you were out of line with "CIO Policy."

PACT AS "COMPLEMENT"

The North Atlantic Pact now leaves little room for argument. It is clear as crystal today that behind the relief "carrot" of the Marshall Plan was the club of the military alliance. Norway and Denmark were the latest to feel this impact of economic pressure. The thinly-disguised condition for aid was participation in the war pact. If there is any more doubt on this question, listen to the State Department White Paper issued by Acheson, the chief engineer of the pact, who is also credited with being the author of the Marshall Plan: "The North Atlantic Pact is a necessary complement to the broad economic coordination now proceeding under the European Recovery Program."

None of this is new, as the resolution of the SWP Convention clearly indicates. The truth was accessible to those who wanted to find it. But the lackeys of the State Department were under orders — orders to lie, confuse and deceive — orders to line up the labor movement behind American imperialism.

Will Murray, Reuther and Co. change their position now that the real aims of the Marshall Plan have been so plainly revealed? That could be expected of honest men. But it can be predicted that the labor leaders will soon be ballyhooing the North Atlantic Pact as the "guarantee of peace." Like the Marshall Plan, it will become part of "CIO Policy."

STALINIST LIES

The Trotskyists were the only tendency who spoke the truth on the Marshall Plan, who predicted its military aims and evolution. The Stalinists, principal opponents of the plan in the unions, were not less deceptive and misleading in opposition than their bureaucratic rivals were in support. The Stalinists were against the plan only because it did not fit in with the diplomatic game of their masters in the Kremlin. With one amendment they were prepared to shift from opposition to support: that is, that funds for economic aid should be directed through the United Nations instead of the agency set up by the State Department. Why the United Nations? Because, they lied again and again, it was the instrument for world peace.

Yet the North Atlantic Pact does not in the least conflict with the statutes of the United Nations. Acheson has stated over and again, citing chapter and verse, that the Pact is completely in conformity with the charter of the UN. Despite their vehement denunciations of the Atlantic Pact, the Kremlin writers have not denied the legalistic accuracy of Acheson's remarks. The North Atlantic Pact is the ripe fruit of the United Nations.

Like the League of Nations before it, the UN has been nothing but a world swindle to deceive war-weary people and to turn them away from the only real struggle against war, the struggle against capitalism. Within both institutions, imperialist powers jockeyed for positions only in order to line up war alliances.

Once again the lesson has been driven home: If you want peace, don't trust the con-men in the ranks of labor who paint up the martial weapons and institutions of the enemies of mankind as "instruments of peace."

Labor Union Trends

KNOLL VS. REUTHER ON POLITICAL ACTION

By Bert Cochran

There are deep political currents at work today in the American labor movement. The 1948 elections produced an impact on the thinking of the workers that is far more profound than many imagine. The ordinary rank and file unionist suddenly woke up to the fact that the working class, if it willed, could put its people into the seats of governmental power. The broad mass of workers never believed that possible before.

While Roosevelt was alive his magnetic personality dominated the political field and obscured the class forces at work. Nobody was sure who had the winning deck of cards. Truman's mediocrity was the very thing that removed the scales from the workingman's eyes.

After the election, Truman remarked to newspapermen that there were one million people in the United States who could do a better job as President than he. Many people felt that, if anything, this was an underestimation. So, if labor could win with Truman, it followed that it could win with pretty near anybody.

Labor's prowess in getting out the vote and the effectiveness of its quasi-political organizations, the CIO-PAC and the AFL-LLPE, have convinced the labor bureaucracy that they are pretty important people and that the politicians had better start treating them with a little more attention and respect, if they want to continue getting labor's support.

The AFL and CIO big shots have grounds for this cockiness. They stand today at the pinnacle of their power. They head the two most effective national vote-producing political machines. They are partners, in the formidable alliance of the labor movement and the New Deal politicos inside the Democratic Party. For years, these synthetic heroes used to call themselves "labor statesmen." Now they actually are beginning to believe it.

NUANCE OF DIFFERENCE

Their very success in November, 1948 now puts the question to them most insistently: What to do next? Where do we go from here? The masses who voted for the Democratic Party expect the promises to be carried out, they expect to see the victory translated into understandable terms of dollars and cents. The labor fakers know in their hearts that this is easier said than done. Hence, the squirming, the soul-searching, the many gabby seminars and round-table discussions of the labor bureaucrats and the New Dealers to try to figure out what to do. This uneasiness about what the future holds has already produced a small rift, a nuance of difference inside the top ranks of the labor bureaucracy itself.

The National PAC leadership under the direction of Philip Murray wants to continue doing business in the same old way at the same old stand. Jack Kroll, National PAC Director, outlined the policy most recently before the UAW Education Conference held a few weeks ago in Milwaukee. As reported in the Jan. 22 N. Y. Times, he declared "that the CIO would not try to capture either the Democratic or Republican Party. . . As proof of the CIO's determination to maintain an independent political course, Mr. Kroll reported that he had asked the CIO to send formal letters of commendation to 49 Republicans in the House of Representatives for joining with the Democratic majority in voting to curb the powers of the House Rules Committee."

As against this traditional CIO policy, Andrew J. Biemiller, New Deal Democratic Congressman from Wisconsin, elected with PAC backing, urged the conference that labor go whole hog into the Democratic Party. **"The election proved," he opined, "that a genuine, liberal, non-communist labor party is not necessary. . . It proved that the Democratic Party has become the party to which intelligent union men and women can and will rally."**

REUTHER'S POSITION

The Times correspondent goes on to report that "UAW leaders made it clear that they were not in full accord with either Mr. Kroll or Representative Biemiller . . . there was a strong belief among the UAW leadership that persistent efforts should be made, in cooperation with the ADA and other labor and liberal organizations, to win control of the Democratic Party and force out its States' Rights wing. If this drive failed, increased attention would have to be given to forming a coalition capable of starting a third party."

This position of Walter Reuther's is the slant of the whole Social Democratic wing of the bureaucracy. This same thought is expressed even more clearly in a "Round Table Conference" held Jan. 15 at the Hotel Carlton in Washington, D. C., attended by various dignitaries of the AFL, CIO, NAACP and the New Deal crowd. Joseph Lash, representing the New Republic, favored the same kind of policy as Biemiller: "It is about time that the liberal groups and labor groups married the girl. They have been going out with the Democratic Party long enough!"

In reply to Lash, Gus Tyler, remembered by some as a former "militant" of the Norman Thomas Socialist Party and now gracing the title of "Political Director" of the International Ladies Garment Workers, presented the position of Dubinsky and the ILG hierarchy: "Labor does not wish to tie its future up irrevocably with the still amorphous Democratic Party. A considerable section of labor believes that if the Democratic Party does not deliver — in terms of legislative performance — then there will be a worthwhile movement in the direction of a new party."

CAN THEY RESTRAIN LABOR?

Joseph Keenan, Director of the AFL Labor's League for Political Education, whose position is the same as that of Kroll and Murray, expressed the fear of the bureaucracy that they may not be able to hold the labor ranks to the present line. At the "Round Table" he stated: **"You have only to go back to Europe. It was a set of circumstances such as we had here in 1947 that brought about the labor parties in the other countries. The reactionaries got in, and the labor people felt the only solution was to go into politics and elect candidates in order to impose their point of view. All of us are committed to the free enterprise system. We like it, but if the Democratic Party does not realize that it has a responsibility, then you are going to have a labor party [horror of horrors!] and everything that goes with it."**

The younger, more pushy crew of bureaucrats associated with Walter Reuther are putting their amended CIO policy into practice. In Michigan, the CIO is trying—not without success—to capture the Democratic Party. The Feb. 28 Detroit Free Press gives the new Reuther strategy a big front page write-up under the title, "Gus Scholle Holds Reins in CIO's Bid for Political Power; Victory of Governor Williams Gives 'Operation Scholle' Fast Start." (Scholle is President of the Michigan CIO and Reuther's henchman in state politics.)

"Many CIO leaders," the article reports, "believe Scholle may have hit on the magic formula to bring them a string of victories." And what is this magic formula? "It's Scholle's unqualified avowal that hereafter he will work exclusively within the Democratic Party and will back only Democrats for office."

The article further states that the National CIO apparently told Reuther — what else could they do? — to go ahead with his scheme in Michigan. "After the purge [of the Stalinists]," we are informed, "Scholle served his ultimatum on Kroll. Kroll and CIO President Murray finally told Scholle to go ahead and marry the Democratic Party. . . If it succeeds in Michigan, it's bound to be tried in other states."

What does all this add up to? Let us keep in mind that the labor movement possesses right here and now the organizational structure for a mass labor party; that if the leaders wanted to, they could give the word today, and no additional organizational effort would be required to set up a big party of the working class. The Reuther policy of infiltrating the Democratic Party and throwing labor's weight around in more aggressive fashion is simply hastening an irreparable cleavage inside the Democratic Party between the Peoples Front liberal-labor coalition and the traditional political servitors of Big Business.

And as the **superbly organized** American working class becomes disillusioned with Democratic Party politics and begins moving massively to the next political stage, the very least Reuther and the other bureaucrats and all their New Deal hangers-on — in order to maintain their leadership — may even have to hitch their star to a new political party plenty lavish in its promises of a better world for the working masses.

THERE IS A DEFENSE AGAINST THE BOMB!

The capitalist propagandists say there is no military defense against the atom bomb. They picture America's cities levelled to radioactive ruins in the war now being prepared.

But what about **political** defense? Socialism can save mankind from the horrors of a new slaughter. By rooting out the economic causes of war, socialism can end imperialist wars forever and guarantee a world of peace.

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Stalinists on Trial Plead War Role

(Continued from page 1)

Party to "advocate Marxism-Leninism."

"Remember that phrase, Marxism-Leninism!" McGohey warned the jury; whereupon he launched into a typical prosecutor's description of Marxism-Leninism as a doctrine of unrestrained violence, culminating in the physical extermination of all opponents.

McGohey's description of Marxism-Leninism isn't the only false picture he gave the jury. It is equally false to refer to the leaders of the Communist Party as Marxists-Leninists. **They are Stalinists, who at all times serve the interests of the Kremlin, regardless of the cost to the workers. While true Marxist-Leninists at all times serve the interests of the working people and no other interests.**

DEFENSE PRESENTATION

Eugene Dennis, CP general secretary, who has elected to defend himself without a lawyer, made the main opening argument for the Stalinists. He countered McGohey's complaint that the line Stalin agreed to at Teheran had been broken, by accusing Truman of repudiating the line Roosevelt agreed to at Yalta.

Dennis sought to garnish his protest against Truman's foreign policy with the current Stalinist criticism of the administration's domestic policy. But his main complaint was directed against Truman's refusal to make a deal with Stalin and "build a strong United Nations organization."

He intimated that if such a deal is made the Stalinists will make peace with Truman on the domestic front, when he reminded the government that they supported Roosevelt for re-election in 1944.

"On April 1, 1945 we were all-out in support of the government against the Axis," Dennis whined. "We upheld the government against its domestic as well as its foreign enemies." He didn't explain who those domestic "enemies" were, but the record is clear enough on that score.

THE CP's ENEMIES

The Stalinists defended the government against the "enemy" coal miners, fighting to smash the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. They finked on the "enemy" auto, rubber, packing and other workers, fighting as best they could against the no-strike pledge and the speedup.

Dennis and his gang supported the jailing of thousands of conscientious objectors opposed to the draft. They sabotaged the struggle of the Negro people for social, economic and political equality.

The Stalinists cheered when the government jailed 18 Trotskyists in the first thought-control prosecution under the Smith Act. They slandered the Trotskyists as "agents of Hitler" for saying that the war would not bring peace to the world, that it would be used by the capitalists to undermine living standards and attack civil rights.

All these and many more acts of treachery against the labor movement have been committed by the Stalinists in their collaboration with the capitalist government. But the judge told Dennis, "You can't explain away the charges against you by telling of all the good things you did."

BUDENZ FIRST WITNESS

Louis F. Budenz, the first government witness, is now on the stand. Budenz was a leading member of the American Workers Party when it fused with the Trotskyist movement in December 1934. Here is James P. Cannon's succinct description of Budenz in the **History of American Trotskyism:**

"He had been a social worker to begin with. His interest in the labor movement for years was that of student-observer and publisher of a subsidized magazine which gave advice to the workers but represented no organized movement. Eventually, through the medium of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, he became engaged for the first time in the mass movement for which he unquestionably had considerable talents.

"Mass work is hard work and it devours many people. By 1934 Budenz, who had no socialist background or education, was a 100 percent patriot, three-fourths a Stalinist, tired and somewhat sick and looking for a chance to sell out."

In 1935 Budenz joined the Communist Party and during the next ten years held posts as labor editor of the **Daily Worker**; editor of the **Midwest Daily Record**, Stalinism's "gift" to the peoples' front; and finally as managing editor of the **Daily Worker.**

Upon joining the CP, Budenz signed a statement denouncing Trotskyism with all the conventional Stalinist slanders. He related today how the defendant, Jack Stachel, took him to task because his statement did not praise sufficiently the "beloved leader and teacher," Stalin.

That little session with Stachel was only the first step in his Stalinist education that was to prepare him for his present services to the Washington-Vatican alliance.

Budenz defended the Moscow Trials through which Stalin framed up and eventually murdered all the surviving members of Lenin's Central Committee. In his book, **This Is My Story,** Budenz tells how he aided Stalin's secret police when they were preparing to assassinate Leon Trotsky in Mexico.

He stayed with the Stalinists while they were all-out for the war, but finally broke with them in October 1945 after the expulsion of Browder.

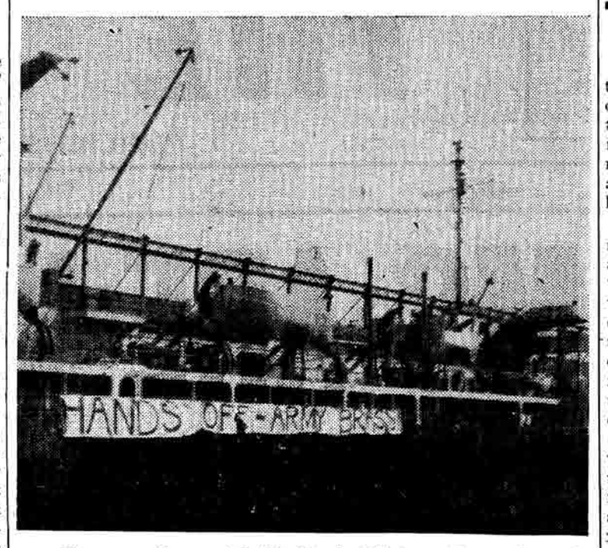
Thereafter he joined the Catholic Church and now teaches economics at Fordham University, when he isn't testifying against the Stalinists before a grand jury, loyalty board, Congressional committee, or in the courts.

So far the prosecutor has used Budenz to testify against William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, Jack Stachel and Gilbert Green, and to introduce in evidence the program adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928.

Budenz said the **Midwest Daily Record** folded up from loss of circulation soon after the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed. A big argument followed as to whether the Stalin-Hitler pact had any bearing on the indictment. McGohey asserted that the Stalinist line at the time of the pact disproved Dennis' sweeping claim that the Stalinists had consistently supported Roosevelt with "criticism on some points."

The prosecutor has read to the jury page after page of the program of the Sixth Congress, which is crammed full of the ultra-leftist phraseology of "Third Period" Stalinism.

There was more than a touch of irony when McGohey read passages on united front tactics as I sat within a few feet of the Stalinists, who have rejected the Socialist Workers Party's offer of a united front to fight for repeal of the Smith Act and in defense of its latest victims.



The army disregarded this Hands Off-Army Brass sign and forcibly smashed a stay-in strike of 143 members of the CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards on the Marine Jumper. The strike was in protest against Truman's directive transferring 11 ships to army control under which the unions are out and 3,000 seamen are losing their jobs.

FASCISTS, COLONIAL DESPOTS IN NEW IMPERIALIST LINE-UP

(Continued from page 1)

million recently extended him by the Chase National Bank, with other loans under negotiation. This is a risk no American bank would take without the certainty of Washington's backing for the bankrupt Franco regime.

Another fascist dictatorship that has been every bit as bestial as Franco's and, in fact, provided him with a model, has already been invited to join Washington's war alliance. That is the clerical fascist regime of Dictator Salazar of Portugal.

Since 1926, when Salazar's coup abolished the democratic parliamentary system, the Portuguese people have lived under the iron heel. The U. S. capitalist press has given little publicity to Salazar's crimes — and Salazar has not gone in for the spectacle of public executions, as in Spain. As Del Vayo wrote in the March 12 Nation, **"Portuguese rebels disappear more discreetly — doomed to a slow death on islands of which people outside of Portugal have never heard."**

Early this year, Salazar decided to put up enough of a show of "democracy" to give Washington a basis for justifying Portugal's membership in the United Nations and inclusion in the forthcoming Atlantic Pact. He permitted opposition to himself in an election for the first time in 23 years. The enormous response to the liberal opposition candidate, 82-year old General Norton de Mattos, so frightened Salazar that he "persuaded" Mattos to withdraw the day before the election. Del Vayo states that Salazar was so scared at first, he was preparing to retire, but was advised against this by the American embassy in Lisbon. **"His friends in the embassy are said to have convinced him that this was no time for democratic experiments in a country of such great strategic importance to the Western powers," reports Del Vayo.**

Imperialist Holland, butcher of the Indonesian Republic, is an original member of the Atlantic Pact. Dutch officials have expressed their satisfaction with the pact, particularly that section which provides for U. S. aid to the signatory governments against internal revolutionary activity "inspired from outside." A spokesman for Foreign Minister D. U. Stikker revealed that "wide latitude purposely was given in the wording of this article 'because you never know where danger will crop up'." (N. Y. Times, March 19.)

The Dutch monarchy has already received or had earmarked for it more than $900 million in U. S. funds and arms under the ERP. Even the American capitalist press was forced to criticize the use of these funds for the bloody assault on Indonesia, particularly after the Dutch government renewed its war against the Indonesians fighting for national independence. Now the Dutch imperialists are the beneficiaries of a pact that assures them a great increase in American arms and the promise of direct military aid in the event of "attack" both from the outside and "internal revolution . . . inspired from the outside."

The inclusion of Holland in the pact, the invitation to Portugal, and the preparations to invite Spain are three clear tokens of the true aims of this new military alliance — an alliance not to bring peace and democracy to the world, but to crush it under capitalist dictatorship.

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ATLANTIC PACT'S AIMS -- WAR, DICTATORSHIPS

(Continued from page 1)

tion, Acheson replied. In his opinion, "purely internal revolutionary activity would not be regarded as an armed attack; a revolutionary activity inspired, armed, directed from outside, however, was a different matter."

The important thing here is not the diplomatic reservation about revolutionary activity from "outside," but the fact that under this pact the participating governments assume the power to intervene when revolutions threaten or take place. "Purely internal" revolutions usually are, can, and under this pact surely will be denounced as foreign-instigated. (Remember, for example, that when the Dutch imperialists attacked the Indonesian Republic a few months ago, they called it a communist movement instigated from "outside.")

Acheson also noted that under Article 4, Greece, if it was a member of the pact, could ask for help and the other members could send armed forces there to put down the opponents of the regime. The same thing, under the "outside direction" formula, could be done in France or Italy or any other country where the majority of the people rebelled against their capitalist rulers and sought to establish a workers and farmers government.

And even if all the pact members would not intervene in such situations, it is obvious that the governments getting arms from the U. S. will use them against "purely internal" revolutionary movements at home, or in their colonies.

"FREEDOM OF THE AIR"

Equally ominous were Acheson's replies to other questions, particularly about the conditions under which a third world war could be initiated. A reporter asked if "an attack on aircraft flying over Soviet territory into Berlin" would be considered an armed attack within the meaning of the pact.

It would, Acheson answered, emphasizing that it wouldn't make any difference where it occurred. United States entry into World Wars I and II was hastened by the assertion of her right to "freedom of the seas"—to send ships wherever she pleased. The same thing is threatened by this new assertion of "freedom of the air."

The pact pays its respects to "constitutional processes" and Acheson took special pains to stress that it would not commit the U. S. to "automatic" war because "under our constitution, the Congress alone has the power to declare war."

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

But, he added immediately, the U. S. would be "bound to take promptly the action which we deemed necessary to restore and maintain security in the North Atlantic area. . . This is not a legalistic question. It is a question we have frequently faced, the question of faith and principle in carrying out treaties."

Acheson was talking out of both sides of his mouth — one of the specialties of capitalist diplomacy — but he cannot cover up the fact that by approving the pact, Congress would in effect transfer the real war-making powers into the hands of Truman and the State Department, whose actions in the pact council and whose power to send U. S. troops abroad would have twenty times greater weight in initiating war than a subsequent decision by Congress, which could only have a rubber-stamp character because of the "obligations" under the pact.

Support of two-thirds of the Senators voting will be needed for U. S. ratification of the pact. (Thus a smaller proportion of the Senate is required to approve a fateful decision to drag the American people into atomic war than is needed to stop a filibuster against civil rights legislation — where a two-thirds vote of the entire Senate is now needed.) There is little doubt that the necessary votes for the pact will be forthcoming in short order. (War is far more popular in the 81st Congress than civil rights.) The members of Congress seem quite willing to grant the war-making powers to the White House, provided they can retain the face-saving formality of participating in the decision.

ARMS PLAN NEXT

The pact itself contains no provisions on when or how or how much U. S. aid will be given to expansion of European armaments and military forces. But, as Acheson explained, the U. S. is the only power with the resources to rearm western Europe, and "therefore, we expect to ask the Congress to supply our European partners some of the weapons and equipment. . . " Estimated costs for the first year are over one billion dollars.

This move is not as popular in Congress as the pact itself. That is why the arms plan has been separated from the pact; as a separate measure only a majority vote will be needed for its enactment. But after all, sending the arms is a logical consequence of the pact, just as the pact itself is a logical consequence of the Marshall Plan, and it is highly unlikely that the present bi-partisan Congress would do anything to block it.

WHO CAN BLOCK WAR?

Capitalist politicians certainly cannot be depended on to oppose either the pact or its consequences because in the last analysis all of them are committed to a war to preserve or restore the capitalist system throughout the world, and all of them support increased armament production as a means of staving off a catastrophic cepression at home.

The only ones who can block the war drive are the people of the United States and Europe—the workers and farmers who will be sweated to pay for the whole project through higher taxes; who will have to give up some of their butter if they permit the capitalists to build more guns; who will be asked to surrender more and more of their liberties if the ruling class is permitted to have its way in dictating the conditions of political life to the whole world; and who in the end will be ordered to serve as cannon-fodder in a war they never wanted and were never consulted about.

Their voice must be raised now, their energies aroused, to prevent mass murder and reaction on a scale never before witnessed in human affairs.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Agents Report Plans To Increase Number Of 'Militant' Readers

R. B., our literature agent in **Boston**, writes that "all the comrades are enthusiastic about the recent issues of **The Militant.** We are considering a sub drive to get more readers locally."

J. C. of **Flint** informs us that "Our campaign for renewals begins next week. Here is one to show good faith."

Milwaukee is likewise moving into action. **G. H.** reports that four comrades went out over the week end and got six subscriptions. "We are just getting started again to distribute the paper at local union meetings." At a UAW-CIO Educational Conference held in Milwaukee in January, **L. G.** made sure that at least 200 delegates got copies of **The Militant.** During the meeting many delegates "were calling each other's attention to things it said, and this continued in some cases while Walter Reuther was making his speech."

Pittsburgh ordered 10 extra copies of the March 7 issue and 10 of the March 14, the ones "containing Bert Cochran's analysis of the United Electrical Workers Union," G. W. specifies.

Joy C. of **Chicago** writes that the Socialist Workers Party branch there is moving to the Loop, the center of town, and expects a resulting "increase of sales."

New York's Literature Agent, **Harry Gold**, reports that 70 **Militants** were sold in the past week, 48 of them on college campuses. In addition, 13 copies of **Fourth International**, the monthly magazine of American Trotskyism, were sold.

W. N. writes us from **St. Paul** that a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses called "to get as many copies as we had left" of the issue telling about the murder of one of their members by the Greek government because his religious beliefs barred him from fighting in the armed forces. "He declined a sub to **The Militant**, however. He said, 'The things you stand for are all right, but isn't it foolish to work so hard for something you'll never get?' Our representative in headquarters answered him that if this were true, 'you're just as foolish, because you're swimming against the stream too.'"

And thanks to **Jack L.** of New York who sent us $1 to help publish **The Militant**; and to **C. M.** of **Buffalo** who contributed $5 to help repair the damage caused by the fire a few weeks ago in our offices.

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TROTSKY

"There is no epoch in human history so saturated with antagonisms as ours. Under a too high tension of class and international animosities, the 'fuses' of democracy 'blow out.' Hence the short circuits of dictatorship. Naturally the weakest 'interrupters' are the first to give way. But the force of internal and world controversies does not weaken: it grows. It is doubtful if it is destined to calm down, given that the process has so far taken hold of the periphery of the capitalist world. Gout begins in the little fingere of a hand or in the big toe, but once on the way it goes right to the heart."

Leon Trotsky, Article in New Republic, 1929

LENIN

Truman's Weird Alibis

Truman has offered some weird alibis about the beating his promised "Fair Deal" program is taking in Congress. Everybody's to blame, it seems, but the Democrats.

Take the question of rent control. Who's responsible for the crippling amendments already passed by the House and the Senate?

The "real estate lobby," says Truman, in the only "explanation" he has offered to date. Now, it's true that the landlords and rent sharks are putting a lot of heat on down in Washington. But they don't do the voting.

When the House voted 246 to 31 to write into the rent law a guarantee of a "reasonable return" on the "reasonable value" of a landlord's property, that vote included an overwhelming majority of Democrats, North and South. The House amendment to empower state and local governments to abolish rent controls in their areas passed 227 to 188—and it was the vote of 77 registered Democrats that was decisive in passing this amendment to virtually destroy federal rent control. In the Senate, 19 Democrats—and not all of them Southerners either—cast the decisive votes to give local governments power, with the consent of their state governors, to remove controls. Thus, a majority or substantial minority of the Democrats has approved every action so far in Congress to destroy rent controls.

As for the debacle of the administration's attempts to halt the anti-civil rights filibuster, did good dues-paying Democrats have anything to do with that? No, that's all the fault of "state's righters" who have "imposed a third party system on the country," says Truman. The records show, however, that 29 out of 44 voting Democrats supported the "compromise" closure rule that now makes it more difficult than ever to halt a Senate filibuster. And that's clear majority.

The Democrats as a party, whom Truman leads, bear the chief responsibility for what's happening to the "Fair Deal."

"Devotedly Yours in Christ"

Francis Cardinal Spellman, the Roman Catholic Prince of strikebreakers, last week spent $17,875 for a special act of Christian Charity. He sent individual checks of $65 as "gifts to the families" of 275 Catholic cemetery workers whose strike for a 40-hour week he had smashed by personally mobilizing and directing seminary students as strikebreakers.

His Eminence, in a form letter to the defeated strikers, expressed the view that "undoubtedly" the eight weeks they had been on strike had caused them "many hardships" which so touched his heart that he was enclosing a check for the amount of a week's pay. He invoked God's blessing on them "this Eastertide" and signed himself "devotedly yours in Christ."

The publicity the Cardinal got for this gesture of forgiveness and Christian Charity was easily worth twice the price—although he got bigger headlines for nothing when he was demonstrating to employers how to improve their strikebreaking technique by doing it in the name of "religion" and "Christian morality," particularly the Roman Catholic hierarchy's variety.

Does the bread on the tables of the cemetery workers taste sweeter now that it is flavored with this honey of Christian Charity? Or does it taste bitter from the gall of the thought that the one who forced them to strike, who caused them the loss of eight weeks' pay, is now tossing them a crust in "mercy?" Does it choke in their throats when they think how the Cardinal has made a good bargain in exchanging $65 worth of Christian Charity for the time-and-a-half pay on Saturdays of which he has deprived them every week and which would have brought their weekly pay to $77 instead of the $64.35 they now receive for the straight-time 48-hour week which the Cardinal imposed on them when he broke their strike?

Will scab-herder Cardinal Spellman purchase their gratitude for $65? Or will it remind them of the hardship and suffering they and their families were forced to endure for eight weeks because of the greedy, reactionary stand of the Catholic hierarchy? Let the voice of the April *Catholic Worker*, publication of the small liberal Catholic Worker Movement, speak for these men:

"It is all yesterday's news now, those strikers who had to drop their life insurance because they couldn't meet payments, the ones with savings dissipated, the rent owed, the vacation money laboriously put by and now swallowed up in the paying of bills owed to the butcher and the grocer. The striker whose only child, a boy of sixteen was dying of a chronic kidney complaint, too ill to be moved to the hospital and who needed money desperately for food, medicine, doctor bills, rent, who still stuck with his union and refused to scab. The striker with seven hungry children who said to us, 'In the name of God, how can they keep saying that burying the dead is a work of mercy and we should be satisfied to take less and I've got seven kids to feed? Feeding my kids is work of mercy enough for me and it takes more than what they're giving me to do it on.' And the shamefaced seminarians, surrounded by heavy police guards, who drove through the picket line to help break the strike, past signs in the hands of the strikers that read, 'Is Calvary the Graveyard of Catholic Social Justice?'"

No, $65 won't pay the men and their families for this, nor buy for strikebreaker Spellman and the Catholic hierarchy the respect of decent men and women. For self-respecting working people, his "Christian charity" is neither Christian nor charitable. It is the final insulting cruelty—the salt rubbed on the raw wound.

The Unknown Soldier and the Legless Vet

By Theodore Kovalesky

Looking toward the Potomac, it stands white and simple. Into its marble are cut words. "Here rests in honored glory an American soldier known but to God."

They gathered his ruined bones from a grave in France that bore no name. They crated him and shipped him back, and generals and admirals and politicians made speeches and said the Unknown Soldier had died to make the world safe for democracy, for freedom . . .That was 1921.

* * *

They took Jimmy Kutcher ("From the President of the United States, Greetings: . . . ") and they put a uniform on him and gave him a gun and taught him to kill. They jammed him onto a ship with a thousand, five thousand others (he never counted them, they were everywhere, on the decks, in the head, down in the dark, stinking holes where they slept packed together) and took him where the killing was good.

Jimmy Kutcher didn't want to go. He was like a million other men who didn't want to go. He didn't want to kill anybody. (Today they say he wants to overthrow the government by "force and violence," but he hated war, he hated force and violence, and they took him and they taught him force and violence like ten million other men, and they made him go.) He was a Socialist, he belonged to the Socialist Workers Party and believed in the brotherhood of man. He believed in the solidarity of workers of all lands. But they drafted him, and when they called his number, he went.

He told his parents goodbye. He sweated through basic training. He learned what they had to teach him. (You don't just kill a man. You don't just decide to do it and then go ahead. You have to know how to hold the gun. You don't pull the trigger, you squeeze it. When you sight, you suck in your breath, let out a little, then hold it so you're steady. You have to know your bayonet drill.) Then after a while they packed him onto a ship to take him where he could use the knowledge he had gained.

* * *

First there was the invasion of Algiers. Then Sicily, more invasion barges and bullets and bombs. Always the feeling, first poignant, then dull: "Is my name on the next one?"

Then Italy and more invasion barges. More steel and iron splitting its way through the air, gouging furrows and pits in the land, splashing explosions of spray out of the ocean. (How many will get it this time? Whose names are on these?)

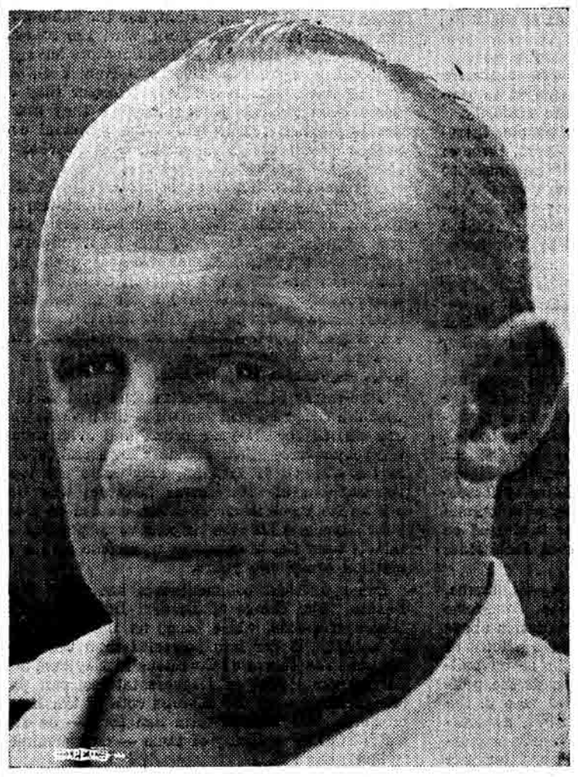
What did he think? Jimmy Kutcher was drafted into the war of imperialism, but he was a volunteer in the class struggle. The army took him, with ten million others and wrenched him out of the life he knew, tore him from the fight he loved. He was there with ten million others. . . but what a lot of them wondered about, he knew. He knew why the war was being fought. He knew it was a contest between rival groups of capitalists, that the workers would suffer and die and be oppressed no matter which side won. He knew that his fight was not the imperialist struggle but the class struggle.

Would he ever again see his comrades? Would he once more take his place with them, organizing, building, fighting for a better world, the world of Socialism? Or would there be a grave for him far from home — a letter to his parents?

* * *

Fort Bragg, Algiers, Sicily, Italy . . . San Pietro. . . You're born with legs. You walk. You run. When you crack your shin or sprain your ankle, then you know you've got legs. But otherwise you never give them a thought. You've got them. You're supposed to have them, so you walk and you run, and you never give them a thought. Jimmy Kutcher walked and ran at home. He walked, he ran at Fort Bragg, in Algiers, in Sicily and up into Italy. . . up to San Pietro. But that was where he stopped. That was where he left his legs.

What is there to say? How describe it? The shock, the sudden wild force, the human body



JAMES KUTCHER

grown light and flung beyond the laws of gravity, the agony, the hospital with the smell of disinfectant and death and the sounds of pain and death, and the realization that he no longer had legs. (Phantom feet under the flattened blanket, cold, uncomfortable feet that weren't there but felt cold all the same. And dreams at night when he walked and ran and was just another man, just a man like any of the other ten million that walked and ran. Dreams were that way a long time: the mind refused to get used to a body without legs.) A grateful government thanked him, gave him another ribbon for his chest and a medal to wear for dress. Then they sent him home again, because he wasn't useful any more. That was 1945.

* * *

Without legs you don't just walk into a place and go to work. The steel plants, the shops, the shippers and truckers don't want legless men. So the grateful government found him a job as a $40 a week file clerk in the Veterans Administration.

Only that's not the end of the story. Jimmy Kutcher was a veteran, but he wasn't a Republican or a Democrat. He didn't stand by idly in a world of racial oppression without lifting his voice. He wouldn't go his way silently while Wall Street laid plans for atomic warfare. So the brass hat lieutenants of the capitalists struck at him, tried to break his spirit, threw him out of his job.

Jimmy Kutcher had dangerous ideas, dangerous thoughts. He didn't deny that he believed all men are born equal and have certain inalienable rights, the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He believed in government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And therefore he believed in revolution. (It was a "crime" to fight for freedom in 1776, and it's a "crime" in 1949: that's why they fired Jimmy Kutcher.)

So what has the grateful government done for the man who lost his legs in the burst of a mortar shell? They have given him a hearing or two. They let him present his case. But their minds were made up. Attorney General Tom Clarke had decreed that the Socialist Workers Party, the party of Jim Kutcher, the party of all of today's freedom fighters, was subversive. (A veteran of their war? Lost his legs? Ribbons, battle stars, and a Purple Heart? So what? The man has dangerous thoughts. So give him his walking papers — and out with him!)

* * *

In 1921 they bundled together a few sticks of dusty rot that used to be a man and placed them in a gleaming tomb looking toward the smooth Potomac, as a souvenir of World War I.

They tried to make the Unknown Soldier the symbol of the First World War. . . and if death and the destruction of youthful bodies was what they meant, they succeeded.

They never intended to make Jimmy Kutcher a symbol of today. . . but they've done that anyway. For by throwing Jimmy Kutcher out of a job for his political beliefs they have thrown a glaring light like a railroad flare onto the darkness, oppression and persecution, tyranny and reaction that is America today in 1949.

James Kutcher, formerly of the United States Army, lately of the Veterans Administration, is a warning, an alarm signal. In his speech and in his silence, limping from place to place on artificial limbs, leaning on two canes, or lying on a hospital cot, he is a thundering voice that cries out to all the workers, all the poor:

"Beware of what is happening to the last shreds of freedom you still think you have. The day is here when your political freedoms are going and even your freedom of thought and conscience is being torn from you. The government machinery reaches even into your mind and seeks to punish you for what it finds there. And unless you act with courage and resolution to prevent it, tomorrow will bring even greater tyranny. Yours is the power to create a world of liberty. If you do not use this power, you will awaken one bright morning and find yourselves in a hell of despotism that you cannot today imagine. What has happened to me will happen to you and then to others. First, thought control; n e x t , concentration camps. First, firing; next, firing squads. **We have come to a fork in the road. One direction leads to the hell-holes of fascism, with its secret police and tyranny; the other will take us to the sunny fields and clean cities of Socialism. There is no other choice."**

The Liberals - Help or Obstacle?

Reader Criticizes Our Attitude to Liberal Politicians

Editor:

As one who has studied Socialism and also the present social conditions pertaining to the Negro race and its welfare, I would like a straight civil answer from your paper on the relation between the principles of Marx and Lenin and your views on certain political leaders of the fight to help the minority groups and the masses in general.

To begin with, for the past six months your paper has continually denounced and slandered such outstanding militant fighters as Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Congressman Vito Marcantonio, Henry Wallace and a few others.

Now if Lenin was living today, in the name of good common sense I just can't imagine him fighting against outstanding men as these who have made sacrifices to defend the peoples' rights. Even if Lenin could not accept them politically, he would speak a good word for them and give them credit for what they have done.

Take Henry Wallace, a man who went into the Southland and fought the Dixiecrats word for word and took the worst of insults to defend the rights of the Negro people.

Take Vito Marcantonio, a man who on the night before election had a street meeting of 15,000 people at Lexington Ave. and 116 St. hear him expose and condemn race haters and labor haters in Congress and defend and help the Puerto Ricans and Negroes of his district to get the right to vote. Can this man be as bad as your paper says he is?

Take Congressman Adam Powell. A few weeks ago your paper branded him in the most humiliating way and said he was a conspirator against the Negro people in Harlem. Do you know this man has introduced and fought for many anti-Jim Crow and pro-labor bills in Congress? Adam Powell cannot do more than he has done. Harlem is not an organized community and only a small section of the people are active and civic-conscious and have any understanding of politics and economic affairs. I do not agree with him on just everything, but he is a courageous speaker and tells the facts to the people and deserves much credit for what he has done and therefore I defend and support him 100%.

I say the smart thing for the SWP to do is just stop so much useless condemning and slandering of innocent people and to change its strategy. Send some of your committees to Washington and confer with Adam Powell and other liberal-minded Congressmen and help to pass some of the bills the people need. If you do this, the people will come to know you and your program better and in the next election you might get more than a few thousand votes.

E. Banks,
Harlem, N. Y.

Answer Shows What Powell and Wallace Really Stand For

The central argument of E. Banks is simple. Inasmuch as Congressman Powell, Congressman Marcantonio and Henry Wallace are fighting actively on behalf of the Negro, why should the Trotskyists "denounce" and "slander" them?

To begin with, the Trotskyists do not slander anyone. But "denounce" them we certainly do, and our central argument is as simple as Banks'. **We believe and we can show that the total effect of the political activities of people like Powell, Marcantonio and Wallace is harmful to the Negro people.**

For proof, take the present situation of civil rights. A substantial majority of the people in the United States today are ready to support civil rights bills for Negroes. But Congress, Democrats, Republicans and the Truman administration are playing politics with civil rights and the filibuster. Congress and the Roosevelt administration did the same. The **Chicago Defender**, the **Amsterdam News**, and the **Pittsburgh Courier**, the NAACP and Walter White are now bitterly bewailing the fact that the Negro people have been betrayed once more.

Now the Trotskyists say this: **that any politician who claims to represent the Negro people and the masses and does not tell them openly and bluntly that this capitalist Congress and the capitalist administration are playing politics with Negro rights and will always play politics with Negro rights, is a misleader of the people, and we shall denounce him as such, day in or day out.**

In fact, the more loudly he shouts, the more often he gets a little school-bill passed here, or a bill on bus-traffic passed there, the more dangerous he is. He gets more prestige, and therefore is more able to fool the people about fundamental things.

The Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Truman Administration are out to fool the Negroes and any politician who does not make that clear is fooling the Negroes too.

POWELL AND TRUMAN

But, Mr. Banks may point out, Vito Marcantonio and Henry Wallace said that very thing in the last election and sought votes for a new party. **Mr. Banks can't have it both ways.** If Vito Marcantonio and Henry Wallace are right because they say that the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are fooling the Negroes, then he has got to "denounce" Congressman Powell. For either Congressman Powell does not know that the Democratic Party and President Truman are fooling the people, and if this is so he is unfit to represent the Negro masses; or else Congressman Powell knows this and does not say so, which means that he is equally unfit to represent the Negroes, in Harlem or anywhere.

VITAL WAR QUESTION

Now about Congressman Marcantonio and Henry Wallace. Where do they stand on a vital question such as war? Mr. Banks writes as a man acquainted with radical politics. He must know Vito Marcantonio is a stooge of the Communist Party and the Kremlin. When Hitler and Stalin were allies in the last war, Marcantonio denounced Britain and the United States as imperialist and tried to stir up the American masses against the government. As soon as Hitler attacked Stalin, Marcantonio changed and denounced all who opposed the war. Now today Marcantonio is once more denouncing American imperialism because it is mobilizing for war against the Soviet Union. Wallace, on the other hand, denounces American imperialism but he says that if and when the war begins he will be on the side of American imperialism. Where do you stand, Mr. Banks?

We can tell you where we stand: we denounce American imperialism, and we say that any war upon which it enters is a reactionary war, helping to destroy civilization and bringing torment and ruin to tens of millions. And all who say otherwise we denounce. You say that only a small section of the people have any understanding in politics and economics. We don't think you are correct, but at any rate, if that is so, then the first thing is to tell them the truth about things like war and denounce those who tell them otherwise. That is what the Trotskyists do.

WHAT WE DENOUNCE

This we learned from Lenin. First things come first. The capitalist system must be replaced by socialism. Imperialist wars must be opposed. Eighteen of our leaders went to jail for this during the last war. These capitalist parties must be replaced by a great mass party of the workers, the small farmers and sharecroppers, the Negroes, the white collar workers, the youth. The workers must lead it. Such a party can put an end to these interminable wars, guarantee workers' rights, Negro rights. And who ever tries to tell workers and Negroes that they will get their rights otherwise we denounce as a fool or a faker. That is Trotskyism.

That is not all we say. Trotskyists support a federal anti-lynching bill, we support a national FEPC, we are for the abolition of Jim Crow, root and branch, we are for the abolition of Taft-Hartley. **Whoever is seriously fighting for these things, with them we will fight, whether they agree with us on fundamentals or not.** As a regular reader of our paper, Mr. Banks knows that. But the Trotskyists will denounce and combat all who write and speak lies and nonsense about fundamental questions, such as war, or tell the people that Congress and the Truman administration will abolish Jim Crow. That is where we stand, Mr. Banks. Where do you stand?

J. Meyer,
New York, N. Y.

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SWP STAND ON T-H TOLD TO HOUSE

(Continued from page 1)

government employees; threats to draft strikers into the armed forces—all these and other devices of compulsion have been used by government to restrict, restrain and deny the right to strike.

A new and most serious attack on the right to strike has arisen through President Truman's claim of "inherent power" to break strikes by injunction. If permitted to stand unchallenged, the President's sweeping assertion of strikebreaking powers would render null and void any act of Congress lifting present restrictions on the right to strike. It is therefore necessary for the Congress to enact legislation specifically forbidding the President to break strikes by injunction.

The right to strike is similarly subject to attack under certain provisions of the Thomas-Lesinski Bill.

Title III empowers the President to proclaim a national emergency in major labor disputes, appoint an emergency board to investigate the dispute, and ask postponement of strike action for 30 days. That provision would impair the right to strike because the full weight of government condemnation would automatically be brought to bear against workers who might decline to stay on the job for 30 days. And it constitutes an open invitation for the President to invoke his claim of "inherent power" to go to the courts for strikebreaking injunctions. Title III should be eliminated in its entirety.

Title I, Section 108, would make it an "unfair labor practice" to terminate or modify collective-bargaining contracts without 30 days prior notice to the United States Conciliation Service. Here again government compulsion is introduced to restrict free exercise of collective bargaining and the right to strike. Title I, Section 108, should be eliminated.

Another infringement of the right to strike is the declaration under Title II, Section 205, that it shall be the "public" policy of the United States" to demand arbitration of disputes growing out of the interpretation or application of collective-bargaining agreement. That provision means the full weight of government pressure would be used to impose compulsory arbitration in an important area of collective bargaining. Title II, Section 205, should be stricken from the bill.

Compulsory arbitration of jurisdiction disputes between unions and a ban on secondary boycotts in such disputes is provided under Title I, Section 106. If the government orders compulsory arbitration of jurisdiction disputes, and strongly advocates arbitration of disputes over contract interpretation, then dangerous precedents will have been established for a later attempt to order compulsory arbitration of wage rates, hours of work and general working conditions. If today secondary boycotts are banned in jurisdiction disputes, tomorrow the ban may be extended to all boycotts. Title I, Section 106, should be eliminated.

To secure full protection of the rights of the working people, I urge total repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and restoration of the original Wagner Act with the following supplementary safeguards:

1. There shall be no restriction whatever on the rights of all workers, including government employees, to organize, bargain collectively, strike and picket.

2. It shall be unlawful for any agency of government to restrict, restrain or deny the right to strike and picket, by injunction, by seizure of struck facilities solely to break strikes, or by any other means.

3. If a corporation in any basic industry or public utility should cause public hardship by instituting a lockout, or by precipitating a strike thru refusal to bargain equitably with its employees, such corporation shall be nationalized by the government and its facilities operated under the democratic control of its employees.

Visit your local headquarters of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII — MONDAY, MARCH 28, 1949 — NUMBER 13

Hard Economic Reality Makes Pollyanna Forecasts Absurd

By John G. Wright

Highly optimistic economic forecasts for 1949 continue to emanate from Washington, with Mr. Nourse, chairman of Truman's economic brain trust, cast in the role of Pollyanna.

Nourse's latest assurances are no more well-founded than were the earlier predictions this year that by mid-March there would be an upswing in employment. Even New York railways, it will be recalled, in announcing their layoffs, promised that they would start rehiring by March 16.

Instead there have been further layoffs. Unemployment is now officially admitted to be "around 3,500,000," with the actual total being larger by at least another million. As serious as spreading unemployment are the continued cut-backs in production, with workers in one industry after another working fewer shifts and less hours weekly per shift.

Outweighing all the Pollyanna forecasts is the admission by the Commerce Department that metals and auto remain today as the only two relatively strong props of industry.

What the Commerce Department omits to say is that this has been true since last November. Moreover, it refrains from taking into account that developments in metals and auto are not sealed off hermetically from what is taking place in the rest of the economy. And these afford least grounds for optimism.

MOUNTING INVENTORIES

Suffice it to single out two factors in the existing situation which are bound to play a decisive part in the months ahead. **First is the top-heavy condition of business inventories. Despite production cut-backs, stepped up sales and generally lower prices, these inventories continue to pile up.** The reductions recently effected by large retailers have simply resulted in swelling the inventories in the hands of wholesalers and manufacurers. Officially these inventories are estimated at the 55 billion dollar mark. How large they really are no one knows.

By means primarily of credit manipulations, large-scale liquidation of inventories has thus far been avoided, except in isolated instances. But how long can such a highly unstable condition last? On the other hand, liquidation of such huge inventories can prove nothing short of catastrophic. They can't hold on and they don't dare let go — such is the vicious circle in which many businesses now find themselves.

PURCHASING POWER SAGS

The second key factor is the steadily dwindling purchasing power of the mass of the people. Inability to buy necessities has for some time now found its expression in declining retail sales. Nourse and his colleagues continue to cite imposing figures of "national income." Meanwhile, high living costs combined with spreading unemployment and shorter work weeks have slashed still more savagely into mass purchasing power.

No official statistics are kept on this score. But we may get an inkling from such items as sales of staples like meat. According to **Business Week**, March 19, as recently as last November, when prices were higher, weekly sales of beef, pork, veal and lamb, used to average 330 million pounds, but in recent weeks these sales have dropped to 290 million pounds. **In this decline we get a hint of how sharply living standards have been lowered since November.**

How is it possible to sell as much in 1949 as before when the main sections of the population are able to buy only less and less? This obvious impossibility is only another of the many vicious circles created by "free enterprise."

SIGN OF WEAKNESS

The officially admitted fact that this country's economic life hinges today directly on what happens to auto and metals is thus not a sign of strength but of weakness. It is, of course, beyond anyone's ability to predict how soon these two closely interrelated industries will collide head on against the limits of the shrinking home markets.

Nevertheless, it is already evident that these industries have likewise passed their peaks. First signs of weakness are becoming manifest here as well. This is particularly true of metals, where the market for steel scrap, lead, copper and zinc has turned shaky. As for the auto market, it too has become "soft" in relation to higher priced cars and the critical test for the lower priced models still lies directly ahead.

The optimism of Nourse and his colleagues rests in actuality on the arbitrary assumption that metals and auto will continue to hold up. But a sharp break in both auto and metals, far from being excluded this year, looms, in the existing circumstances, as the direst threat of all. And such a culmination, barring a sudden shift to full-scale war production, would unfailingly bring to a close the prevailing transitional economic phase and usher in a new stage — the definitive downswing of the economic cycle.

Representative Government?

By Joseph Keller

There is a popular assumption, constantly reinforced by the capitalist propaganda of the state, school, church and press, that the American people enjoy representative and democratic government. We are supposed to govern ourselves through officials we have freely elected to represent the will and interests of the majority.

It has come as a shock to many people, therefore, to see how a minority of Senators, through the use of the filibuster, can block any measure no matter how much desired by the people. And the "right" of such a Senatorial minority to obstruct indefinitely the passage of bills mandated by the people has just been upheld by a majority vote of the entire Senate.

The undemocratic procedure of the filibuster is but one aspect of the undemocratic and unrepresentative nature of the Senate as such. For the Senate was designed from its very founding as a means for frustrating the popular will.

Most of the constitutional founders were not convinced democrats. A majority of them were wealthy land-owners and merchants. They therefore established two federal legislative bodies, with an "upper chamber," the Senate, as a "check and balance" on the "lower chamber," the House of Representatives. While the number of Representatives is based, in part, on the proportional population of the states, the Senate is elected on a strict geographic basis, two from each state regardless of size.

Today, six Southern poll-tax states — Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia — with a combined population about equal to that of New York state, have a total of 12 Senators to New York's two. The seven poll-tax states, including Texas, because of the poll-tax restriction on voting cast a total vote in the 1948 presidential elections of 2,911,305, as compared to New York's 6,111,530. A similar proportion holds in the voting for Senators. Thus, the 14 Senators from the seven poll-tax states who spearheaded the recent filibuster against civil rights legislation were elected by less than half the votes cast for just two Senators from New York. Over 50% of New Yorkers voted, as against the 10 to 15% permitted to vote in the poll-tax states. The Southern Senators literally represent a minority of a minority.

We can see how unrepresentative the Senate is when we consider that Nevada, the smallest state with 110,247 population, has the same number of Senators as New York, with 125 times as many people. The two Nevada Senators have just as much power as the two from New York, and if they have been in the Senate longer they can wield even greater power, because they are in better position to succeed to the powerful committee posts, whose chairmen are selected by seniority.

The Southern Senators, because of the virtual one-party system in most Southern states, are almost irremovable. Some have held their seats for decades. A number of the most important committee posts this session are held by the aged chair-warmers from the Bourbon South who are able to keep themselves longest in Senatorial office through the poll-tax and terrorism against the Negro people. As heads of committees, these Southern Senators are in position to bottle up most legislation they oppose.

Two-thirds of the Senators who held forth in the 80th Congress still remain in the Senate. They are elected for six-year terms and even though the people voiced their mandate for social reforms in the election of Truman, they could not touch the two out of every three Senators who were not up for re-election. Senators elected on a six-year basis are far less responsive to popular demands than Representatives who come up for re-election every two years.

Some political commentators have called the Senate "Our House of Lords." But the British House of Lords, while based on inherited titles of nobility, is far less powerful than the U. S. Senate. The House of Commons in England, similar to our House of Representatives, can pass any measure over the adverse vote of the House of Lords. The 96 long-term Senators — or even a filibustering minority of them — can indefinitely block any bill.

But if, by some miracle, they do pass a bill in the interests of the people, there is still another "check and balance" — the Supreme Court. This appointed body of nine who hold office for life can set aside any law passed by Congress. Between them, the 96-man Senate and the nine-man Supreme Court constitute an oligarchy of government standing completely above the will of the people.

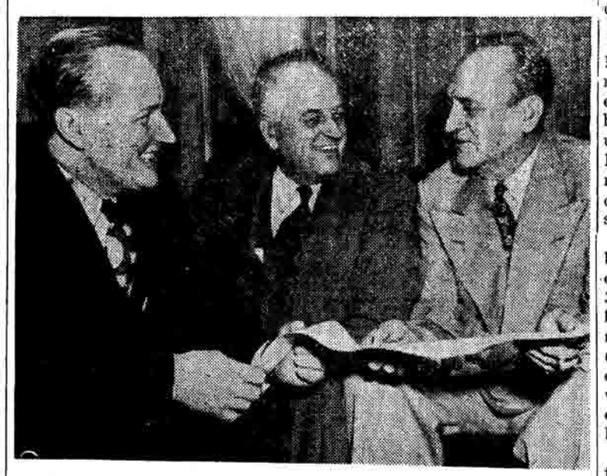
Courier's View On the Filibuster

A significant reaction to the filibuster comes from the **Pittsburgh Courier**, largest Negro weekly, which backed Dewey last year and then thought a new and better day in race relations had dawned with Truman's inauguration.

In a front page editorial on March 12, the **Courier** finds a great dilemma facing Negroes because the Democratic Party can't pass civil rights legislation, and the GOP won't pass it. It concludes:

"In national elections Negroes are orphans of the political storm raging about them, and neither the Democratic nor Republican party is a safe haven. There is talk of Walter Reuther and other labor chiefs establishing a labor party which would eventually break up the Democratic solidarity of the South. Maybe this will, in time, offer an alternative from the 'great dilemma' now facing the Negro people."

Talked Civil Rights to Death



Republican Senate leaders William F. Knowland (Calif.) and Kenneth S. Wherry (Neb.), who teamed up with southern Democrats in 3-week filibuster, confer with Senate majority leader Scott Lucas (D., Ill.) just before successful conclusion of their campaign to bury civil rights legislation. They also adopted new rule making it even more difficult to halt future filibusters.

The Meanest Man of the Month

By Ruth Johnson

You may have read occasional newspaper stories about some wretch who steals pennies from newsboys or blind men. My vote for the "meanest man of the month," however, goes to the Right Rev. Monsignor John O'Grady, who in the name of charity wants to deprive millions of kids of relief and medical care.

O'Grady is the secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities. As its spokesman, he went to Washington on March 13 to tell the House Ways and Means Committee to stop the proposed federal assistance program.

This great-hearted spokesman of the Catholic hierarchy wasn't worried because the federal relief program is too small to help all the unfortunates who need aid under capitalism. Oh, no! He's against it because he's afraid it will put his own charity racket right out of business.

"How can we maintain our spirit of Christian charity, our spirit of brotherhood, without the appeal of the great institutions for the care of children?" he wailed.

Keep the kids hungry, so that the O'Gradys can know the joy of pitying them! And so, that the Catholic hierarchy can keep on collecting vast funds from others whose sympathy is less cynical, whose generosity is touched by the plight of suffering children!

Let private, religious, and local organizations handle relief, he demands. For the federal government to "guarantee every family what it needs on a budget basis," O'Grady laments, is nothing less than "national control of family life."

Will the powerful Catholic hierarchy, with its vast treasury from contributions and business investments, fill the desperate needs of the people and thus "save" them from the threat of government aid? Not at all! O'Grady flatly opposes more funds for the underprivileged, from any source:

"We had always expected that aid to dependent children would solve many of the problems of child dependency and delinquency, but we have been disillusioned." Instead, he says — like all who excuse their greed by slandering their own victims — the Catholic hierarchy found "wholesale neglect" of children whose families received its aid.

So what to do? Clearly, he leaves one course: let the children come humbly begging alms at the door of the resplendent Catholic dignitaries. Let them kneel in desperation before the well-fed and righteous clerics, who can dispense or withhold the wealth poured into their coffers for charity.

In a word, let there be "control of family life" by the Catholic hierarchy, or no life at all for the children of the poor!

Big Weiss Vote Sought As Mayoralty Race Ends

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, March 20 — With elections only a few days off, Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, this week was issuing an appeal to workers to go to the polls April 5 and express their opposition to employer-controlled politics by voting for the only working class candidate running for the highest administrative office of the city.

"Capitalist class politicians — whether so-called liberal or outright reactionary — inevitably serve the interests of that class which they represent," states Comrade Weiss. "Capitalists," she continues, "are interested primarily in profits, regardless of the misery and despair that their greed for enrichment brings to the workers, who produce all wealth.

"In times of growing unemployment, even in the face of continued high prices, the employers ruthlessly point to the growing lines of jobless outside the factory gates to threaten those still on the job, in an endeavor to decrease the already inadequate wages and increase still further the back-breaking speed-up.

"The politicians who serve their interests provide them with the laws necessary to carry out their capitalist class aims.

"To protect working class interests, workers must have their own representatives in office, representatives who place workers' needs above employers' profits.

"I urge you to vote for me for mayor on April 5 as an expression of your opposition to continued unemployment, inadequate housing and lowered living standards, and as a positive affirmation that you are prepared to struggle determinedly for your needs, your rights and your share of the national wealth which you produce."

ONLY SOCIALIST CANDIDATE

Comrade Weiss, meanwhile, was continuing her energetic campaign, confronting her capitalist class opponents face to face and bringing her socialist program to ever-widening circles.

In this election for mayor of Los Angeles, she is pitted against eight other candidates, all representatives of the capitalists, including incumbent Mayor Bowron, who was supported by the CIO in 1945, and the present choice of the "leftists" and liberals, Ellis E. Patterson.

Evidence is mounting that increasingly large numbers of workers, and significantly Stalinist workers, are growing weary of everlastingly chasing after "liberal" capitalist candidates, only to find in the end that they turn out to be "liberals," that is, on every key question they support the employers against the fundamental needs of the workers.

This past week, a sound truck, with banners urging workers to vote for Myra Tanner Weiss, has toured the city streets daily, and will continue to bring the Socialist Workers Party views to the voters until election time.

BUSY SCHEDULE

During the week, also, Comrade Weiss addressed a number of meetings, including one sponsored by the Americans for Democratic Action, which Mayor Bowron also addressed. She made a 15-minute presentation.

On Sunday evening she was scheduled to speak on the Mayors' Day program of the Elks club on Central Avenue, and at 10:30 P. M. to give a nine-minute talk over radio station KNX on its "Meet Your Mayor" broadcast.

Other meetings where she will speak during the last days of the campaign include the League of Women Voters Candidates Night at the Los Angeles High School, the Lincoln Heights Community Service Organization, the Boyle Heights Community Service Organization, AFL Carpenters' Local 1976, and the Socialist Workers Party final pre-election rally, Sunday night, April 3.

Local meetings are being held weekly in four working class sections of the city, and Comrade Weiss' platform is being widely distributed, especially in front of the California Employment Service, where it is receiving exceptionally sympathetic response.

Unemployed workers, as well as the Stalinists, both dissidents and those still in the party, are showing deep interest in Comrade Weiss' appeal to "Vote Socialist April 5th!" Vote for Myra Tanner Weiss for Mayor of Los Angeles.

Final L. A. Rally Will Be Held on April 3

LOS ANGELES — The final election rally for "Myra Tanner Weiss for Mayor" will be held Sunday evening, April 3, at 8 P. M., at the North Hall of the Embassy Auditorium, 9th and Grand.

Speakers will include Comrade Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate, and Murry Weiss. The meeting will deal primarily with the socialist answer to the growing unemployment crisis and the need for workers to elect their own representatives to government office.

Phila. Jobless at Seven-Year Peak

By J. Minuit

PHILADELPHIA, March 23 — As unemployment rose to a seven-year high in this area, "depression jitters" and general uncertainty have become the rule. Only a few months ago there was a spirit of cautious optimism. Today, with many tens of thousands walking the streets and with short weeks, downgradings, and rate-cutting affecting far greater numbers, the workers are taking a second — and closer — look at the situation.

Pessimism as to the economic outlook for the immediate future has become so rife that the term "Prophet of Doom" is no longer used as an epithet. "Get rich quick" rackets, among them Pyramid Clubs, flourish as the squeeze of continuing high prices is intensified by reduced incomes.

The current crime wave is generally blamed by workers directly upon the unemployment situation. "A man's out of work, he still has to eat — and you can't support a family on $25 a week."

The solution most frequently discussed here is the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay in order to spread out the work available. Also one meets occasionally with the opinion that "a war would provide plenty of jobs," but it does not get an enthusiastic reception. Too many families have experienced other effects of this "solution."

BUFFALO UAW LOCAL PROGRESSIVES DEFEATED BY SINISTER CONSPIRACY

BUFFALO, March 21 — The defeat of the progressive administration in the recent UAW Bell Aircraft Local elections has astonished the local labor movement.

Bell Aircraft Local 501, under the leadership of a group of tried and tested militants for three successive years, has achieved successes which made the local one of the best in the entire UAW.

This administration not only won the union shop, liberal vacation allowances, paid holidays. They were the trail-blazers in securing company-financed health insurance, hospitalization, severance pay and many other so-called "fringe" issues for which other UAW locals are only now beginning to fight. In addition they secured the highest wage rates in the airframe industry and certainly the best in the Buffalo area.

The internal life of the local was a model of democracy. Local 501 became a symbol for progressive labor action, militant policies and aggressive struggle for the improvement of the lot of the workers.

All the greater is the amazement at this administration's defeat in the recent local elections by a group of corrupt, incompetent and lazy office seekers — utterly destitute of any devotion to the most elementary trade union principles and lacking the slightest urge to fight on behalf of the workers; in a word, a group of bankrupts with nothing but the heaviest dose of reactionary prejudices to qualify them for union office.

Up until the eve of the elections, it was taken for granted that the incumbent officers would be returned to office with the same or an even greater majority than in previous years. But no one reckoned with the sinister conspiracy hatched between the Buffalo capitalist press, the company, and the local Reutherite bureaucracy in alliance with the most anti-union elements in the plant.

Just before the elections the **Buffalo Evening News**, reactionary mouthpiece for local financial and industrial interests, suddenly opened a violent Trotsky-baiting attack against the Bell leadership, the like of which had not been seen in Buffalo. Indulging in an orgy of vilification, finger-pointing, hounding and character-assassination, the **News** singled out for attack each and every one of the prominent progressive leaders.

With "information" supplied by Reutherite stool-pigeons, it linked these leaders with attendance at "Trotskyist meetings held at 629 Main Street." From alleged attendance at Trotskyist meetings, it neatly inferred "outside domination and control by the SWP." To this, each of the **News** articles invariably added the usual smear against the SWP as a "subversive organization which seeks to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means."

The suddenness and virulence of the **News** attack, coming as it did in the midst of a general anti-red hysteria, operated to unnerve and confuse the Bell workers and stampede them into the arms of the discredited Reutherite clique whom they had consistently rejected in previous years. This was facilitated by the nature of the plant, which thrives solely on war orders and is thoroughly ridden with Army and Navy Brass.

This reactionary attack might still have been repulsed were it not for the treacherous support given to the opposition by the phoney "left" allies of the Reutherite bureaucracy. The most shameless exhibition of rank opportunism and cowardly bootlicking by supporters of the Socialist Party and the Shachtmanites was displayed on a motion presented by the administration to condemn the **News** for its red-baiting and interference in the internal affairs of the local.

The Socialist Party adherents, who control the sub-regional office of the UAW, voted AGAINST the motion — a motion to condemn the Hearst-like gutter press for its brazen attempt to decide the local elections! Even more ignominious was the role of a vociferous Shachtmanite supporter and undeviating Reuther henchman, who didn't have the courage to publicly vote against the motion and shamefacedly abstained.

The division of labor between the vulgar red-baiters and the phoney "left" allies of the Reuther bureaucracy was further demonstrated in their campaign material. The former issued an anonymous leaflet surreptitiously handed out at the plant which contained an alleged list of SWP members and "fellow travelers" which included practically every militant and activist in the local. The phoney "leftists," on the other hand, carried out their side of the attack against the militants with more subtle but equally poisonous red-baiting: "The party line of the SWP is largely developed — outside the UAW-CIO;" militant opposition against Reuther is "inspired by the political line of the Socialist Workers Party as contained in its official paper, **The Militant**," etc.

The victory of the reactionary forces was made possible by the combined efforts of the reptile press, the company and the unscrupulous alliance of the local Reutherite bureaucracy and their finger-men and shoe-shine boys in the SP and WP. The sizable vote for the progressive leaders, however, even under this unprecedented onslaught, is testimony in the fact that the most active members of the union still want a militant leadership and that the present defeat is a temporary one.

SWP Supports Candidate of Mexican Community in L. A.

LOS ANGELES, March 20 — For the first time in recent history, a representative of the Mexican community has a better-than-even chance to be elected to the Los Angeles City Council in the April 5 elections.

Edward Roy ball, running for office in the 9th councilmanic district, is seeking election on the basis that it is essential that the large minority population should have a voice in city government, there to combat widespread discrimination and inequalities.

Roy ball has the enthusiastic backing of the entire Mexican community, which he represents.

He has also been endorsed by the CIO-PAC, a welcome recognition on the part of organized labor of the unity of interests of workers and minorities.

In contrast, the AFL Voters League has endorsed Roy ball's opponent, the incumbent Parley Parker Christensen, who has many times been elected to office as a "liberal," but who, especially of late years has virtually ignored the mounting injustices in the way of police brutality and discrimination visited upon Mexicans, as well as Negroes.

CHAUVINIST ATTACK

Even more to be condemned is the action of the AFL Building Trades, which is carrying on a chauvinistic attack against Roy ball, on the grounds that he is a "Mexican," and that he is running a "Mexican nationalist" campaign. Roy ball is an American, but of Mexican descent. He is carrying on not a "nationalist" campaign, as claimed, but one designed to combat disabilities encountered here by members of the Mexican and other minority communities.

The Communist Party (Stalinist) has as yet given no endorsement to either candidate. They have for years supported Christensen, but in view of his do-nothing policy and the present clamor on the part of the Mexicans for their own representative, they are still hesitating and giving no leadership.

The Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) is giving Roy ball critical support. Its members are working energetically for his election, agreeing with him and the Mexican community wholeheartedly that it is high time they had a voice in city government.

The Socialist Workers Party, however, is critical of the nature of Roy ball's program on the grounds that he, like Christensen, bases himself on preservation of the capitalist system, which breeds and fosters discrimination. His program does not touch the fundamental issue of the need for socialism. His election, however, in the opinion of the SWP, would be a much-needed step on the road to improving the lot of members of all minority groups in this city.

ANNUAL SPRING DANCE

Friday, April 8 - 9 PM

Caravan Hall

110 East 59th Street - N. Y. C.

Music by the drumming star of the famed Art Hodes Trio

Freddy Moore

—and—

His Blue Note Recording Band

Direct from his engagement at **Jimmy Ryan's Nite Club**

Subscription $1.20, incl. tax

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Socialist Workers Party

MORE EDUCATORS, RELIGIOUS LEADERS BACK KUTCHER CASE

The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee reported this week that two more educators at the University of Minnesota and four relgious leaders in Minneapolis have associated themselves with the statement asking justice for the legless veteran issued last week by seven professors at the university.

The new signers of the statement are Starke Hathaway, professor of psychology; Mitchell V. Charnley, professor of journalism; Rev. E. S. Hjortland, pastor of Central Lutheran Church; Rev. James Claypool, pastor of Grace Lutheran Church; Rev. Carl A. Storm, First Unitarian Society; Arthur Sternberg, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In New York the Lenox-Fifth Ave. Tenants League donated $10.10 collected at a meeting to help Kutcher's fight. Its secretary, Jean Bennett, stated: "The Tenants League has its own serious housing problems. But we have seen in this case a threat to the security of all who fight for better conditions in their own way. We recognize that the same forces which have brought about Kutcher's dismissal and the persecution of his party can, if not stopped, curb the freedom of action of the League, and of all groups sincerely fighting in the interests of the working people."

Additional support to the KCRC was reported last week from three UE-CIO locals, 112 in Easton, Pa., 501 in E. Pittsburgh, and 623 in Pittsburgh. Also, United Steelworkers Local 1330, Youngstown; UAW Local 14, Toledo; UAW Local 581, Flint; CIO Fur Workers Local 30, Philadelphia; Window Cleaners Union Local 2, New York; Rubber Workers Local 135; Grand Island, N. Y.; AFL Service Emplyoees Local 329, Chicago (second donation)